2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

766 by his relatives. For the feasts during the mourning at a chief's death the food is acquired by institutionalized pillage (*cipinimbe*).
661 The villagers in a chiefdom are often first informed of the death of a chief by the appearance of men from his village. These men are by custom allowed to take from a village any article of food they can find—flour, a goat, some chickens, prepared relish, or whatever is lying around in the village. The owners of the food may not charge them with theft. This food is used in the funeral feast. The excesses to which the chief's men may go became circumscribed after the White conquest. Previously, almost any crime short of murder could be committed under the guise of *cipinimbe*. More recently, owing to Government opposition, it has been restricted to the taking of smaller articles of food, such as flour and chickens. Some people are beginning to object even to this. The chief's funeral is a public affair and all his subjects may attend it. The effect of the *cipinimbe* is to bring together enough food for the chief's funeral feast. Here, as before, the chief's men may not cross the boundary for fear of reprisals, and the effect is to impose a levy in an informal way over most of the villages in the chief's area.

The Chief as a Symbol of Unity

643 The chief is a representative of his people and it is his particular duty to ensure their welfare and that of the chiefdom as
579 a whole. His symbolic representation of the unity of his people is brought out clearly by his right to fines in cases involving bloodshed and arson. Strife and division in a chiefdom in the old days were likely to end in spilt blood and burnt huts so that the Yao associate bloodshed and hut-burning with dissension within the chiefdom.

684 Most other offences are against the individual and not the
685 chiefdom as a whole: the case is brought to the chief so that compensation may be awarded. Adultery and theft thus are definitely civil offences. Nowadays, a fine is imposed, but this is seen to be a White innovation, and the money from it is looked upon as 'Boma' money.[1] In disputes where blood has been shed, however, the chief is entitled to fine the guilty party
682 on his own account. The chief is said to be 'blinded' by the
683 blood and a payment must be made to him before he may 'see'

[1] i.e. Government money.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7 Maravi FR4

Men of the same clan must help each other. Two men of different clans fighting will be joined each by men of his clan; such two men may be interfered with and stopped fighting by someone of the same clan, but not by others. A fight between men of different clans is a lasting thing, not so a quarrel in the clan.

Every clan has a (king) *Karonga* and a (prince) *Chilembwe*, who is his son. These grades are only found among the Nyanja peoples.

The Karonga may break bones when eating—this is significant of his power to break anything; the Chilembwe may not do so, being without land. Neither may eat while walking. These two are always chiefs.

Clan names.—In Machila men's songs one hears a number of clan names repeated sometimes.

After sneezing people sometimes exclaim, "*Mwene wa . . .*; *Mdzukulu wa . . .*; *Kubale kwa . . .*" (giving name of clan).

A man hearing another say this asks him, "Where do you come from?" He tells him, giving him names of his father and mother, etc.; if he does not know them he gives names of generations before.

The following are a few clan names:—

Achisolo, small rat.
Amamvula, rain.
Arimbiri, puff-adder.
Ashibalumbo.
Ashibalima.
Ashingwamina, thunder.
Achimaundi, cloud.
Amwali-ngwi, hartebeests.
Anbiwi, pig.
Ang'oni, birds.
Achiwmbe, fish.
Achinawombe.

MARRIAGE.

A man seeing a girl he would like to marry deputes his brother to go to the brother of the girl, who then calls the girl's maternal uncle, and he speaks to the mother on the subject. The mother consults the girl; if she refuse, nothing further is done. If she consents, the man calls his relations to come and be witness of his taking the girl as his wife; they meet in the *Bwalo*. A house is assigned to the man in the village of the girl and there they go to live.

After six months the mother of the girl prepares beer. The uncles of the young couple, mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers are invited. The girl's maternal uncle then speaks, addressing himself to the maternal uncle of the husband, saying, "We have called you here to drink beer and to see the house of your brother that you may return when you like. Should anything arise between these two newly married ones in the nature of a dispute, let them come to their respective uncles about the matter."

Then five pots of beer are drunk in the village, two are reserved for the witnesses to drink in the evening, and one for the two fathers and the headman.